

# DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 057 023

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TE 002 647

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TITLE On Recording Samples of Informal Speech from  
Elementary School Children.  
INSTITUTION Southwest Regional Educational Lab., Inglewood,  
Calif.  
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.  
REPORT NO SWRL-TR-25  
BUREAU NO BR-6-2865  
PUB DATE 6 May 70  
NOTE 43p.  
  
EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC-\$3.29  
DESCRIPTORS \*Child Language; \*Elementary School Students;  
Interviews; Language Research; \*Linguistic  
Performance; \*Speech; \*Tape Recordings

## ABSTRACT

This paper documents the methodological study which was undertaken to discover the best way to obtain high quality tape-recorded samples of casual, spontaneous speech from children in kindergarten through Grade 3. All children interviewed were from schools in areas qualifying for compensatory education programs under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. With the exception of two sessions, all group interviews were video taped. There were six groups of children, aged 5 to 9, participating in the interviews. The technique of interviewing children individually was tried out with Groups 1 and 2. Two paired interviews were conducted with children from Group 2 and three paired interviews were conducted with children from Group 4. The most important finding suggested by this survey is that it is possible to elicit and record casual speech samples from 5- to 9-year-old children in an artificial environment, provided great care is taken to make the children feel relaxed and unthreatened. Apparently, the best method for doing this is to choose one child from the socioeconomic group under study and allow him to form a group of peers at his discretion. (Author/CK)

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# On Recording Samples of Informal Speech from Elementary School Children



25 MAY 1970



## ON RECORDING SAMPLES OF INFORMAL SPEECH FROM ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

CLYDE E. WILLIAMS &amp; STANLEY E. LEGUM

The Southwest Regional Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (SWRL) has been conducting a Child Language Survey for the purpose of describing the dialect of English spoken by Afro-American children in Los Angeles.<sup>1</sup> This paper documents the methodological study which was undertaken to discover the best way to obtain high quality tape-recorded samples of casual, spontaneous speech (i.e., speech which is not consciously self-monitored)<sup>2</sup> in children in kindergarten through the third grade.

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<sup>1</sup>For some uses of the information gained in this survey, see Legum, Williams, and Lee (1969, p. 37). For some observations on conducting research in the black community, see Garcia, Blackwell, Williams, and Simpkins (1969).

<sup>2</sup>Available evidence indicates that this style of speech is most indicative of a speaker's competence in his language (as defined by Chomsky, 1965), and therefore represents the most systematic and regular aspect of his linguistic behavior. Casual speech is likely to have a low percentage of hypercorrect forms, and is more regular than speech consciously modified to match a partially and imperfectly learned norm. For further discussion of this point, see Legum, Williams, and Lee (1969) and Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis (1968a, p. 25).

Work by Carterette and Jones (1965) and by Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis (1968a,b) indicates that the best way to obtain spontaneous speech on cue is to tape-record conversations within natural peer groups and with minimal adult interference. Labov and his associates also found that to obtain recordings with an acceptable signal to noise ratio it is necessary to use lavalier microphones attached to each child. Both studies cited and the study reported here used centrally located table microphones to obtain an overview of each conversation. The presence of microphones automatically introduces a degree of artificiality. Furthermore, the cords attached to lavalier microphones severely limit the mobility of the children.<sup>3</sup>

Labov (1966) and others have provided strong evidence for the hypothesis that for white populations the values of many linguistic variables change with socioeconomic level. Moreover, their data indicate that the further one moves down the socioeconomic scale, the more the values of these variables depart from their values for "standard" English. That is, it is hypothesized that among speakers of any given "nonstandard" dialect the speech of those lowest on the socioeconomic ladder will be furthest removed from "standard" English.

For these reasons, an attempt was made to choose subjects from families with incomes below \$3,000 annually. Since the methodological study was not concerned with correlating socioeconomic with linguistic features, and since access to school records containing socioeconomic data is difficult, the choice of subjects was based upon teachers' impressionistic recommendations and the school records which were available (for example, the roster of children receiving free lunches).<sup>4</sup> All children interviewed, however, were from schools in areas qualifying for compensatory education programs under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The applicable definitions were formulated by the public school districts involved and approved by the California State Compensatory Education Agency (see Appendix IV).

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<sup>3</sup>Wireless broadcasting microphones were tested for two days in an outdoor setting. These microphones proved unusable because of interference from citizens' band broadcasts.

<sup>4</sup>In the absence of more precise data on the socioeconomic standing of the children, it will not be possible to assess accurately whether a sample of the speakers predicated to have the most extreme (most "basilect") form of the dialect was actually obtained. For the purposes of determining optimal recording environments, these data are not crucial. The speech recorded during the methodological studies is now being analyzed and compared to the findings reported in Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis (1968a). A later report will describe the similarities and differences between the dialect studied by Labov in New York and that currently being studied in Los Angeles.

Besides describing the conclusions reached with respect to the best means of obtaining high quality tape recordings of casual speech from children in the K-3 range, this paper discusses the equipment used in the methodological studies, the relevant characteristics of the subjects and the interviewers, and the interviews themselves. Also, the observations concerning the language abilities of "deprived" children are contrasted with the findings reported by Carl Bereiter and his associates in various publications (cited later), and reasons for rejecting their conclusions are suggested.

## EQUIPMENT

### TAPE RECORDERS AND MICROPHONES

In equipment tryouts conducted prior to the interviewing proper, both the Tandberg Model 11-2 and Uher 4000 Report-L tape recorders were found suitable for collecting sociolinguistic data. For practical purposes, only two features differentiate the Tandberg tape recorder from the Uher: (1) the Tandberg can accept 7" reels while the Uher can accept 5" reels; and (2) the Uher has a remote control "pause" device while the Tandberg does not. Although the larger reels could, in future interviewing, prove to be valuable, the remote pause capability is highly desirable for transcribing purposes. The Uher machines were chosen, since it is economical to use the same tape recorders for both data collection and transcription.<sup>5</sup> Six of the Uher 4000 Report-L machines were used in conjunction with five RCA BK-12A lavalier microphones and one Electrovoice lavalier microphone mounted on a banquet stand, which served as a central microphone when recording groups. An Electrovoice Cardiline Model 642 directional microphone was used occasionally instead of the banquet stand microphone..

### VIDEO TAPING

With the exception of two sessions marred by equipment failure, all group interviews conducted during the methodological studies were

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<sup>5</sup>In fact, the remote electronic pause feature of the Uher 4000-L is not being used on our current transcribing apparatus. A direct mechanical linkage to a foot pedal is being used instead. Such a linkage is simpler on the Uher 4000-L than the Tandberg Model 11-2. Interviews seldom extended beyond the 45 minute maximum obtainable using 5" reels with 1 mil tape recorded at 3-3/4 inches per second. The thinner tape is susceptible to breakage and print-through.

Various cassette recorders were tested during the equipment tryouts and rejected. These machines were either too fragile or unable to provide sufficiently good fidelity.



video taped. These interviews were continuously monitored over two Ampex V9-A monitors. The interviews were recorded on Memorex video tape with an Ampex CC-324 video camera using a 1" Vidicon image tube and an Ampex VR-7000 helical scan video magnetic recorder.

The video tapes allowed SWRL staff to review the actions in the interviews, to correct shortcomings in interview techniques, and to emphasize the strong points which the interviewers displayed. The first session, for example, led to the adoption of a policy of avoiding topics that might prove embarrassing to a child's parents. The video tapes also proved valuable during the transcription of audio tapes at places where the audio information alone allows alternate interpretations of an utterance.

The direct video monitoring of the interviews allowed staff members to write down on-the-spot reactions and communicate them to the interviewers immediately after the interviews. In later interviews when children were left by themselves, the monitoring enabled the staff to comply with state laws requiring constant supervision of school children.

#### THE MOBILE LABORATORY

A mobile recording laboratory was used during the interviews. For Group 1 the mobile laboratory was simply used to transport equipment. For Groups 2 and 3 the mobile laboratory was used to house the video tape recorder and monitors. Because Groups 4, 5 and 6 were interviewed inside the mobile laboratory, the details for the design of the mobile laboratory and the rationalization for that design are presented at the beginning of the Group 4 discussion.

#### PROCEDURES

There were six groups of children age 5 to 9 participating in the interviews. Subjects in Groups 1, 2, and 3 were from Roman Catholic schools in the South-Central Los Angeles ghetto area surrounding and including the Watts district. Subjects in Groups 4, 5, and 6 were from a public school district in a poverty pocket in Compton, a small town about three miles south of Watts. With the exception of two Mexican-American girls and a girl of Oriental descent<sup>6</sup>, all subjects were Afro-American. Table 1 summarizes by age and sex the members of the groups interviewed. Each group was interviewed on consecutive school days.

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<sup>6</sup> These children appeared to speak the dialect of their black peers.

TABLE 1  
GROUP COMPOSITION AND INTERVIEW TIMES

GROUP	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTALS
AGE: 5	F: 4 M: 1						F: 4 M: 1
6		F: 3 M: 6		F: 2 M: 5			F: 5 M: 11
7			F: 4				F: 4 M: 0
8			F: 1		F: 3		F: 4 M: 0
9					F: 2 M: 5		F: 2 M: 5
<u>Group Sessions</u>							
Number	3	3	1	2	1	3	13
Central recordings	105 min	130 min	45 min	90 min	30 min	140 min	540 min
Lavaliere recordings	435 min	650 min	225 min	405 min	150 min	700 min	2565 min
<u>Paired Sessions</u>							
Number	1	2	0	3*	0	0	6
Central recordings	0 min	60 min		0 min			60 min
Lavaliere recordings	60 min	0 min		120 min			180 min
<u>Individual Sessions</u>							
Number	3	4	0	0	0	0	7
Lavaliere recordings	70 min	90 min					160 min

F = female M = male

\*One pair of children in Group 4 was interviewed twice on consecutive days.



The first interview session with each group included five children. The remaining sessions with each group were conducted with the same five children whenever possible. Because of absences (see Table 2 for the attendance records of the children) some new children were added to Groups 2 and 4 on the second and third days of interviewing to maintain a minimum of four children in a group session.

There were 13 group sessions (interviews) involving 36 children. The sessions averaged 47 minutes in length<sup>7</sup>, making a total of approximately 540 minutes of group interviewing. Since each of the 36 children was recorded separately, a total of approximately 2,510 minutes (40+ hours) of conversation was recorded in group sessions.<sup>8</sup>

After completion of the interviews for Groups 1 and 2, seven children from these groups were interviewed individually, with only one interviewer present at a time. Eight children from Groups 1, 2, and 4 were interviewed in pairs after the group interviews were completed; again, there was only one interviewer present at a time. One other pair of children from Group 4 participated in two paired interviews. No child interviewed individually was interviewed in a paired session. Due to absences, four children in these groups were not interviewed either individually or in pairs. No children in Groups 3, 5, and 6 were interviewed either individually or in pairs.

In six paired interview sessions 240 minutes of conversation were recorded, and 160 minutes were recorded during the seven individual interviews.

#### GROUP INTERVIEW FORMAT

The interview format varied somewhat from group to group as different means of providing environments conducive to the production of casual speech were invented and tested. All group interviews provided a group of children of the same age, who knew each other, the opportunity to converse. An interview schedule (Appendix I) was prepared in advance of the first series of interviews. The procedure outlined there (Section 1) for labeling the tapes was followed throughout. The introductory section (Section 2) was followed with only minor modifications for the first contact with Groups 1 and 2. The most important

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<sup>7</sup> Group interviews ranged from 30 to 55 minutes. The younger children tended to become restless and irritable after approximately 30 minutes of group interviews with adults present. It is recommended that for 5-, 6-, and 7-year-olds, such interviews do not exceed 30 minutes.

<sup>8</sup> These figures represent the total number of recordings exclusive of recordings made on central microphones.

TABLE 2  
GROUP ATTENDANCE RECORD

	<u>Subjects</u>										<u>Interviewers</u>	
											<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Group 1</u>	JO	CS	MS	SC	CDL						SL	AB
Session 1 (45 min.):	x	x	x	x	x						T	P
Session 2 (30 min.):	x	x	x	x	A						P	A
Session 3 (30 min.):	x	A	x	A	x						T	P
Individual Interview (20-30 min.):	x		x	x							P	P
Paired Interview (30 min.):		x			x							P
<u>Group 2</u>	EC	TT	BL	YD	BS	CR	TD	BM	TS		CW	ML
Session 1 (45 min.):	x	x	x	x	x						T	P
Session 2 (30 min.):	x	x	x	x	x						P	T
Session 3 (55 min.):	A	x	A	x	A	x	x	x			(T)	(P)
Individual Interview (15-30 min.):			x	x		x	x				P	P
Paired Interview (30 min.):	x	x						x	x		P	P
<u>Group 3</u>	AG	AM	LH	DR	JC						HM	ML
Session 1 (45 min.):	x	x	x	x	x						(P)	(T)
<u>Group 4</u>	FJ	BW	PT	MW	CJ	KT	LH				HM	
Session 1 (45 min.):	x	x	x	x	x						(P)	
Session 2 (45 min.):	A	x	A	A	X	x	x				(P)	
Session 3 (20 min.): (Paired)	A	x	A	x	A	A	A				P	
Paired Interview (20 min.):	x	x	A	x	x						P	
<u>Group 5</u>	BY	EL	FO	PA	DA						CW	SG
Session 1 (30 min.):	x	x	x	x	x						(P)	(T)
<u>Group 6</u>	AH	RS	ES	EB	AC						SL	
Session 1 (40 min.):	x	x	x	x	x						(P)	
Session 2 (45 min.):	x	x	x	x	x						(P)	
Session 3 (55 min.):	x	x	x	x	x						(P)	

Notation: x = present, A = absent, P = principal interviewer, T = operated tape recorder.

Note: Parentheses indicate that the interviewer left the room after a brief period with the children.

departures from the introductory section of the interview schedule stem from the omission after Group 2 of the section (2.36) in which parts of the recordings are played back to the group at the beginning of the interview. The remainder of the questionnaire proved too inflexible for group interviews. For this reason no formal questionnaire was used with any group after the conversation was started on the first day. During four of the first five group interviews, two interviewers were present; during the fourth group interview, only one adult interviewer was present (see Table 2). All interviews after the second interview with the second group included a period in which the children were left by themselves. The details of each group's interviews are discussed separately by group.

#### INDIVIDUAL AND PAIRED INTERVIEWS

It was anticipated that some children would have little opportunity to speak in the group interviews, and that possibly no child would have an opportunity for extended periods of uninterrupted speech.<sup>9</sup> It was thought that the easiest way to overcome this difficulty would be to conduct individual interviews with each child after he had become acquainted with the adult interviewers. Besides getting quieter children to talk, it was felt that this technique would elicit a more formal style of speech to contrast with the informal speech obtained in the group interviews.

The technique of interviewing children individually was tried out only with the children in Groups 1 and 2. Three children were interviewed in Group 1, and four children in Group 2. A single interviewer was present for each interview which lasted between 15 and 30 minutes.

The results with the individual interviews were uniformly poor. Relatively little speech was elicited, and all of it was produced in a highly self-conscious manner. Even the most vocal child from both groups clearly felt ill at ease. Although she did talk considerably more than the other children who were interviewed individually, she was much less animated than usual. Her volume and pitch levels were uniformly low--further indicating that she felt constrained and nervous.

It should be emphasized that all the interviewers who elicited large amounts of relaxed and informal conversations among the children

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<sup>9</sup> The interviews partially confirmed these expectations. Some children spoke practically not at all during the group sessions. Interruptions proved to be less of a problem than had been anticipated. They served more to enliven the conversation than to impede it.

in group situations met with near total failure when interviewing one child at a time. Although the interviewers had spent as much as three hours in casual conversations with the group prior to the individual interviews, a child's conversation during an individual interview tended to be monosyllabic and generally nonresponsive.

Several "paired interviews" were held in which two children and one adult were present. The one paired interview from Group 1 produced good results with large amounts of connected, natural, and excited speech from each child. The two children who participated in this interview were cousins--a fact which may account for the favorable results obtained.

Two paired interviews were conducted with the children from Group 2, and three paired interviews were conducted with children from Group 4. The paired interviews from these two groups produced mixed results.

#### THE INTERVIEWERS

The interviewers in this study were three Afro-American females (AB, SG, ML), one male Mexican-American (HM, who has native fluency in both English and Spanish), and two Anglo-American males (SL and CW). The ages of the interviewers ranged from 23 to 42. In those interviews in which two adults were present, an adult male interviewed with an adult female. In these cases one interviewer would interact with the children while the other tended the tape recorders and took a less active role in the conversation. These roles were reversed on alternate days so that both interviewers had an opportunity to interact with the children.

Since the goal of the interviews was to collect samples of the children's speech, the interviewers attempted to take as small a part in the conversations as possible. The task of the interviewers was to put the children at ease, get conversation flowing among the children, then speak as little as possible. When the conversation lagged, the interviewers would encourage talk by asking short questions which could not be answered by "Yes" or "No." (If a "Yes-No" question were asked, it was immediately followed by a question such as "What happened?" or "Why?" which required a longer answer.)

An individual's success as an interviewer depended chiefly upon the rapport he or she could establish with the children. Interviewers who could quickly put themselves and the children at ease, converse with them on their intellectual level, and then withdraw from the conversation as the children took over, seemed to induce the best results. The mere presence of an adult, however, inhibited the children to some extent. The black interviewers appeared to have a slight

advantage in understanding the children's dialect, but no other single factor seemed to be correlated to the success of particular interviewers.

## THE GROUPS

### GROUP 1

The interviews for Group 1 were held on the stage of the gymnasium-auditorium at a Catholic school in South-Central Los Angeles. This stage provided excellent audio recording conditions. Curtains on four sides served to dampen extraneous sounds and to partition off two areas on the sides. These side areas proved suitable for setting up the video tape recording and monitoring equipment.

The children interviewed were all 5-year-old Afro-Americans. One was male and four were female. All were enrolled in the school's kindergarten, and all wore school uniforms. Upon the interviewers' request, the teacher attempted to choose children who came from families with low socioeconomic status. However, data on the socioeconomic status of these children's parents are not available, and it is doubtful that these children are of the lowest socioeconomic class since the school charges a fee for the childrens' attendance. According to the Archdiocese, the school would meet the Los Angeles School District's criteria for poverty funds under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (see Appendix IV).

All three sessions of this group followed the same general pattern. After the tape recorders and video equipment were set up, the tapes labeled (see Appendix II for details), and the tape recorders tested, the children were brought onto the stage by one of the interviewers and seated around a rectangular kindergarten table. An interviewer sat at each end of the table. Except for minor deviations, the interview schedule that had been prepared for these interviews was followed (see Part 2 of the interview schedule, Appendix I).<sup>10</sup>

As soon as all the children were seated for the first interview, the tape recorders were turned on. Each child was then asked his name and age, and the names of his brothers and sisters. Next, one of the

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<sup>10</sup> Parts 3 and 4 of this schedule were designed to serve as a prompter for the interviewers in case they needed questions to keep the conversation going. However, these sections were largely superfluous because the children spontaneously found many things to talk about. It was also decided that question 3.1 should not be used since it was a potential source of embarrassment for parents.

interviewers announced "Stan has been recording us--that's Stan (pointing)--and I'm Angie. And now he will play back our voices." The children were stiff and on guard up to this point, and an awkward pause followed while the tape from the central microphone was being rewound. But as soon as the children heard the sounds of their own voices from the tape recorder, their uneasiness disappeared. They became extremely lively and began gesturing and talking excitedly to each other.

From this point on the conversation needed no stimulation and the interviewers were able to remain in the background. Indeed, the main control exerted by the interviewers was to very gently keep the children from shouting each other down too often. The group's own control frequently performed this function for the interviewers. When one group member became particularly loud or overhearing the others would tell him to be quiet and to let someone else talk or sing. The most effective and subtle interviewer control seemed to be the asking of a question that demanded an interesting reply. Also, when a child began an interesting anecdote (which happened several times) the group quickly became quiet and attentive.<sup>11</sup>

In general, the remaining two sessions in this group were equally successful. In the second session, however, one important change did have an effect on the children's speech. In this session a high degree of control was maintained over the children. For the most part only one child was allowed to talk at a time. This control was established by assigning individuals turns to talk. The resulting recordings were technically excellent, but the speech produced was markedly different from that obtained during the first session. Although no detailed study has yet been made of these differences, the overall impression was of much less spontaneity; pitch and volume patterns were much more stable and subdued. Because they were anxious to talk, the children became restless earlier in this session than they had before. They were also more tense, and more easily irritated by their peers. During the few periods when control was relaxed the speech and behavior of the children seemed to be of the same general quality as during the first

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<sup>11</sup>One interesting fact might be mentioned with respect to the singing pattern of these children. At several points in the interview, the children had spontaneously begun singing together and the interviewers attempted to get individual children to sing alone. Despite strong repeated efforts on the part of the interviewers to limit the singing to one person at a time, whenever one child would begin singing, the others would join in.

session. The only useful result of repressing the children in this manner was the generation of questions such as "Can I talk now?" and of one counting out rhyme.<sup>12</sup>

From the experience gained in these sessions, it was apparent that the group format described above is a remarkably successful way to obtain casual speech from young children. This format was, however, less successful with the group of 7-year-olds who comprised Group 2. For this reason a new format was devised for older children. In this new format, described in detail later, children are left to themselves, with no interviewer present.

Except for Group 1, all groups interviewed (6-, 7-, 8-, and 9-year-olds) produced taboo words when no interviewer was present, as well as other indicators of spontaneous speech. With the exception of taboo words, these indicators were present in the speech of Group 1. Until the second format is used with 5-year-old children there is no way of predicting the results. It should be noted, however, that even if 5-year-olds should prove too rambunctious to be left alone for 30 minutes, acceptable recordings can be obtained from the format used in Group 1. The pure enjoyment<sup>13</sup> manifested by the children testifies to the success of this interview technique.

## GROUP 2

The second set of interviews was held in a Catholic school in the Watts district of Los Angeles. The subjects for the first two interviews were three boys and two girls. All were Afro-American, and all were 7-year-old second-graders with the exception of one boy who was repeating first grade. In the third interview, all three of the original boys were absent. In their place, three more black males were substituted; these were also 7-year-old second graders. Of these eight subjects, four

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<sup>12</sup>The formation of questions is of great syntactic interest. Unfortunately it is difficult to elicit questions in a natural manner when tape recording an informant. The fact that a fair number of question forms were elicited is evidence against claims such as those made by Bereiter and Engelmann (1968, p. 18) that "disadvantaged" children have learned not to ask questions, and that "More importantly, they do not ask questions that are necessary for clarification or direction."

<sup>13</sup>After each group interview, the children hugged their teacher when they returned to their classroom, and thanked her for letting them participate.



came from families who were receiving some sort of welfare aid; a fifth came from a family whose income was between \$3,000 and \$4,000 a year. A father of the sixth subject owned his own business, and the last two subjects came from families whose income was above \$4,000.<sup>14</sup>

The nurse's office was the only space available for the interviews. Though small (about 15' x 20') and poorly ventilated, it proved fairly satisfactory. The video recording equipment was located just outside the door to this office in the mobile laboratory manned by two technicians. During the actual interviews, the video camera was in the northwest corner about nine feet from the small table in the center of the room, around which the children and interviewers were sitting. The tape recorders were about two feet from this table, and on top of another table. Because of the proximity of the video camera and tape recorders, the children were overly conscious of this equipment and referred to it often.

The format for the first two interviews in this group was essentially the same as that for Group 1. After the initial preparations were completed, the children were brought into the room and seated. In accordance with Part 2 of the interview schedule (Appendix I), the children were asked their names, ages and names of their brothers and sisters. This conversation was then replayed for the group, but contrary to earlier experiences, the replay appeared to have little effect on the children. In the first interview, the children sat rigidly with their hands folded on the table or in their laps, and raised their hands only in response to questions from the interviewer. Reminding the children that they were not in the classroom served to relax them only slightly. Some of the questions from Parts 3 and 4 of the interview schedule were used, but response was poor.

In the second interview with this group of children, the results were much the same, although the children were more relaxed. One modification of the interview format was made, however. As a microphone was hung around the neck of each child, the child was asked to count to ten. While he was counting, the second interviewer adjusted the recording level on the tape recorder to which the child's microphone was attached. This technique was used during the remainder of the interviews.

Because of the difficulty experienced in eliciting spontaneous, informal speech in the first two sessions with Group 2, the interviewers decided to try a different strategy. The third interview would proceed for the first 15 minutes in the same manner as the

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<sup>14</sup>These data were from available school records. For the purposes of future analyses, more careful and accurate means of obtaining socio-economic data will have to be found.

previous two interviews, but at the end of this period, one of the technicians attending the video equipment in the mobile laboratory was to knock on the door outside of which the mobile lab was parked and ask the interviewers to step outside for a moment. It was hoped that the absence of adult interviewers would result in a more relaxed and spontaneous flow of speech from the children. The outcome of this strategy is discussed below.

At the time scheduled for the start of the interview, one of the Catholic sisters appeared with two children. She announced that the other three were absent from school. It was decided to carry out the interview with two new children as substitutes; the sister returned a few moments later with two 7-year-old boys and the interview commenced in the same manner as the preceding interview. In this case, however, the children's voices were not played back to them.

One of the striking things about the first 15 minutes spent with this group of children was that they were very relaxed and talkative. The presence of one of the boys who was new to this group was largely responsible for this changed atmosphere. He was much more gregarious than any of the other children interviewed at this school, and his verbal output resulted in a greater volume of casual speech from the other children.<sup>15</sup>

After 15 minutes, one of the technicians knocked on the door as arranged. The children were told that they could talk as much as they pleased, but not to stand up or move around. The interviewers then left the room and joined the technicians in the mobile lab. The children were observed over the television monitors.

Almost immediately the children began talking among themselves, but quietly. They were not used to being left alone in this manner and expressed fear that some adult would enter the room without warning. However, after about five minutes, they became very relaxed and began talking louder and laughing without restraint. The informality of the children's speech is attested by the presence of taboo words in the conversation and their frequent reference to sexual matters. From time to time, however, the children would interrupt themselves because of the presence of the video camera and tape recorders to remind each other that they were being monitored (although they did not realize that their every move was being observed). This aspect of the interview situation clearly interfered with the spontaneity of their conversation. It was clear that in future interviews, the video camera would have to be made less conspicuous, and the tape recorders would have to be removed from the immediate presence of the children.

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<sup>15</sup> This experience illustrates the fact that an important factor determining the output of casual speech is the personality of individual children within the group.

In terms of informal speech production, however, the third interview was the best in Group 2. Not only were the children relaxed and speaking freely, but two of the children who had said practically nothing while adults were in the room became very talkative when left alone with their peers.

### GROUP 3

The relative success of the interview format introduced for the third session with Group 2 prompted a test of this technique under more exacting conditions. This format was tried out with five shy girls from the same school as the children in Group 2.

The girls were selected by a teacher on the basis of her own criteria for "shyness." They were 7- and 8-year-old second-graders. All were Afro-American with the exception of one Mexican-American girl, who spoke the dialect of her peers.<sup>16</sup> Only one interview was held with this group. It was conducted in the same location and under the same conditions as the interviews for Group 2.<sup>17</sup> After ten minutes with the children, the interviewers left the room. The children were told that they could talk freely but must stay seated.

While left by themselves the children sang, chatted, and played games. Immediately after the interviewers left the room, the children warned each other that they were being recorded and that the adults were going to "bust the door open" at any moment. Nevertheless, within a minute of the adults' departure the girls were competing with each other for the floor (only one spoke at a time when adults were present), and in less than three minutes, they were singing. The song "Choo-choo Charlie Was an Engineer" was sung in chorus and response style; the introduction of taboo words occurred during the individual responses. Although their choice of taboo words was tame by the standards of boys of the same age, the introduction of scatological words and the excited responses leave no doubt that the girls considered the display of these words unusual and risqué. The usual

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<sup>16</sup>This is an impressionistic judgment which has not yet been verified by analysis of the speech recorded from this group.

<sup>17</sup>The video recorder was not operating for this session, although the video monitors continued to function.

channel cues which accompany casual speech were observed almost immediately after the adults had left the room.

#### GROUP 4

At this point in the methodological survey, it was decided to make greater use of the mobile laboratory for the interviews. Accordingly, modifications were made in the van which served as the mobile laboratory to allow for the interviewing of children inside the van. These modifications (1) reduced the time required for setting up the video and audio equipment before each interview, (2) removed much of the recording apparatus from the children's sight, (3) eliminated the formalities of the classroom situation which regular school rooms tend to induce, (4) provided greater control over recording conditions than is available in most school rooms, and (5) provided a common setting for all interviews. Use of the mobile laboratory also allowed the scheduling of interviews without interfering with the school's room scheduling.

The mobile laboratory (see Figure 1) was a 1967 Dodge van (Chassis Model P-300 Forward Control). The overall dimensions of the box-like interior (including the driver's seat and controls, which are not separately enclosed) are 20' (length) x 6'5" (width) x 7' (height). This space was partitioned into two compartments. The forward compartment, which contained a small table for the children, was 9 feet in length (from the back of the driver's seat to the partition). The rear compartment, where the recording equipment was housed, was 5 feet in length. The partition separating the front compartment from the rear was finished with green floor carpeting. There were two routes by which an interviewer could enter the room with the children: the normal route (through the two doors in the front of the van), and the emergency route (a door in the partition covered with a loose flap of carpeting).

For the last two interviews with Group 6, a pale green sheet was added across the entire partition to mask the doorway. This sheet prevented the children from pulling aside the flap and peering into the equipment room, and provided a superior backdrop for video taping. All video and audio recording equipment was out of sight of the children in the back of the van with the exception of the microphones (the five lavalier microphones for the children, one desk mount microphone, and one directional microphone), and the video camera. The directional microphone and the video camera were mounted on a shelf about 5 feet above the floor at the front of the van. A small spotlight<sup>18</sup> was

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<sup>18</sup>The lamp is a Color-Tran Mini-10 quartz iodine fill light.

mounted on the shelf next to the camera. The light was used only on the last day in order to provide extra warmth during the interview; however, it also provided superior lighting, which resulted in higher quality video tapes.

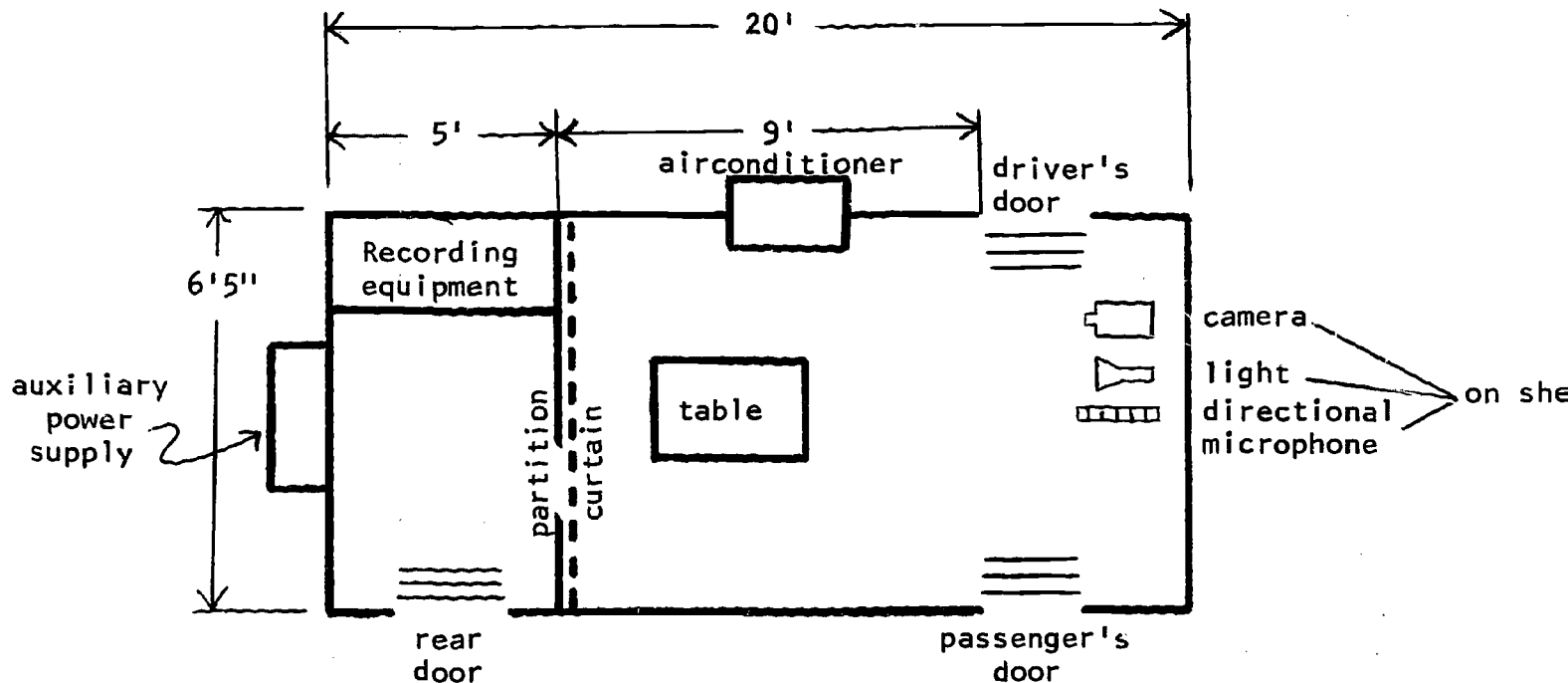


FIGURE 1: MOBILE LABORATORY

The children interviewed in Group 4 were the first to be interviewed in the mobile lab. The interviews took place next to the children's school in Compton, a town in Los Angeles County two to three miles south of Watts. Compton shares with the city of Los Angeles the large ghetto area that begins in Central Los Angeles and sprawls southward.

The subjects for this set of interviews were chosen from a list of children who received free lunches. All were 6-year-old Afro-Americans. Three of the children were boys and two were girls. In addition, two 6-year-old Afro-American boys were chosen as alternates from the same list. The clothing of these children suggested that all were from families of low socioeconomic standing. The five children originally scheduled participated in the first session, but the three

boys were absent from school during the second session. On this day, the two alternates participated in the interview.

Although the technicians and interviewers in the rear compartment of the mobile laboratory spoke quietly, the children were able to hear them moving and talking. One child, when left alone, pulled back the flap over the doorway to peek.<sup>19</sup> Despite these disturbing influences, the absences, and the noise produced by rain beating on the roof of the van, a large amount of spontaneous conversation was recorded during these sessions. The mobile laboratory provided an unplanned bonus when it became apparent that the setting up time was greatly reduced. Many items could be left in place overnight, and nothing had to be carried into the school.

#### GROUP 5

The children interviewed in this group were three 8-year-old and two 9-year-old girls from the same school as the children in Group 4. All were third-graders. Three of the children were black, one was Mexican-American, and one was of Oriental descent.<sup>20</sup>

The interview with the children in this group was held in the mobile lab. The format used differed slightly from earlier interviews. Because of a delay in setting up the recording equipment the children arrived at the van before preparations were completed. The girls became aware that adults would observe them and that there was a good deal of recording equipment in the lab. As a result, the girls frequently interrupted their conversation, especially at the beginning, to remind each other of the presence of the recording equipment. A small hole in the carpet covering the passage to the rear compartment was a further distraction.

As soon as possible after they came into the lab, the children were seated. Microphones were placed around their necks and the children were left alone after being instructed not to move around, but to talk freely as much as they liked. During the first 15 minutes, the girls spent a great deal of time giggling nervously and talking in a loud and excited manner. As the session progressed, however, they

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<sup>19</sup>The sheet covering the entire wall had not been installed at this point.

<sup>20</sup>As with the other non-black child interviewed in this study, these children exhibited many speech features characteristic of the speech of their black peers. The degree to which the speech of the non-blacks has been influenced by their black peers is an interesting question which has not yet been examined closely.



relaxed noticeably. Their conversation turned to neighborhood incidents, scary television programs and the nightmares inspired by these shows, and other aspects of their daily lives. Toward the end of the session, the children became completely absorbed in their conversation. Two of the children who earlier had spoken very little began to talk more. At times the verbal leader of the group would quiet the other children so as to elicit speech from the shyer children.

Because of the somewhat frantic start of this session, it was decided not to hold further sessions with this group. Nevertheless, this session serves to reinforce the opinion that an installation such as the mobile laboratory is appropriate for the collection of casual speech samples, and that the basic interview technique of leaving a group of children to their own devices is fully viable.

#### GROUP 6

The three sessions with Group 6 were held at the same school as the Group 4 and 5 interviews. Five 9-year-old black male students in the third grade were chosen. One of these students was repeating third grade. A third grade teacher at the school chose one boy whom she judged to be from a family of low socioeconomic standing. This boy then chose four other boys from his classroom to participate. Of these five boys, four lived near each other and played together after school.

In the first session, the boys were seated in the mobile lab, the microphones were attached, and the interviewer asked each boy his name and age. After each boy gave his age, he was asked to recite a short and familiar word list, either the numbers 1 to 10, the days of the week, or the months of the year. While this list was being recited, a technician in the back of the van adjusted the volume control of each tape recorder. The interviewer next informed the children that they were going to be recorded; he then left the van by the front door with the excuse that he had to pick up a test.

At the end of 30 minutes, the interviewer returned to the group. In an attempt to obtain acceptability judgments<sup>22</sup> from the children, the interviewer read out loud a set of eight sentences. The boys were

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<sup>22</sup>The elicitation of acceptability judgments holds great interest for the linguist. Much modern linguistic research is based on the indirect evidence of speakers' reports about their reactions to sentences (i.e., is based on acceptability judgments). For a discussion of some of the ways such judgments have been observed to vary across speakers see Elliott, Legum, and Thompson (1969).



told beforehand that some of the sentences were "funny" and that some were normal. After each sentence was read, the boys were asked whether it was normal or "funny," and their responses were recorded. Results from this experience indicate that acceptability judgments can be obtained from 9-year-old children. It was evident, however, that until techniques can be developed which prevent conformity factors (decisions of one member of the group influencing the decisions of other members of the group) from skewing the data, the reliability of individual acceptability judgments cannot be evaluated.

The second and third sessions were conducted in the same manner as the first session, except that no attempt was made to elicit acceptability judgments. At the end of the second session the interviewer asked the boys to read a short story and a minimal-pair list which had been devised for a different sociolinguistic survey (see Appendix III).<sup>23</sup> At the end of the third session the boys were encouraged to sing songs of their choosing and portions of their songs were then played back to them.

The attempt to elicit phonological data through readings indicated that useful phonological information cannot easily be obtained from lower class children of this age by the use of contrived stories and word lists. Even the better readers stumbled and misread words. These included the words which had been chosen because of their phonological content. If future attempts are made to construct a reading-based technique for eliciting phonological features, they will probably be more successful if a story or anecdote, offered spontaneously in an earlier interview, is modified for this purpose.

A large amount of spontaneous conversation was recorded during the three sessions and taboo words and taboo topics were noted. Portions of the conversations seemed slightly guarded, however, because of the recording situation. The boys alluded to their being recorded several times. They noticed the video camera almost as soon as they entered the van, and the main topic of their conversation while in the van was television shows. It appears to be important that the children see as few of the technicians and interviewers as possible in the pre- and post-interview sessions. When such precautions are not taken, casual speech is more difficult to elicit.

Although three of the boys talked a good deal and two spoke very little, the interviews conducted with Group 6 were highly successful.

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<sup>23</sup>If obtainable, reading samples can be quite valuable as a means for obtaining samples of selected phonological variables in formal speech. Furthermore, Labov has shown (1966) that in general, reading styles are further removed from casual speech than interview styles (non-casual speech).

The technique used was found to have one disadvantage, however. Because the children were forced to sit quite close together in order to appear on the video tape, it is sometimes difficult to tell which child is speaking when the audio tapes are being analyzed. This problem may be resolved by using a wide angle lens on the video camera and by seating the children around a larger table. Reviewing the video tapes is helpful in determining which child is speaking at any given time.

### CONCLUSIONS

As already indicated, the purpose of this survey was to discover and test means for eliciting and recording the casual speech of children. It was known from other studies that recordings made using individual lavalier microphones produce technically superior audio tapes. The quality of the recordings made during the methodological survey was uniformly superb, confirming the earlier experience of the authors and other researchers.<sup>24</sup> The condition of wearing lavalier microphones appears to inhibit the children, but the techniques used in this survey to elicit natural speech have been extremely effective in overcoming these inhibitions. The most important of these techniques is that of giving the children the opportunity to talk among themselves. The second most important technique is to reduce the presence of adults since experience indicates that the lower the adult-child ratio, the more casual the speech produced by children and the larger the quantity of speech produced.

Thus, the most important finding suggested by this survey is that it is possible to elicit and record casual speech samples from 5- to 9-year-old children in an artificial environment, provided great care is taken to make the children feel relaxed and unthreatened. Apparently, the best method for doing this is to choose one child from the socioeconomic group under study and allow him to form a group of peers at his discretion. This group is then brought to the recording location with as much of the recording equipment removed from sight as possible. Lavalier microphones are attached to the children and the children are told that they will be recorded. The interviewer informs the children that he must leave them alone; he tells them that they are free to talk as much as they like, but they are not to move around

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<sup>24</sup>After listening to a tape from the second session with Group 6, William Labov indicated (conversation, December 26, 1968) that these tapes were as good in quality and content as those he had collected from the Thunderbirds in New York City (see Labov, Cohens, Robins, Lewis, 1968a,b).

or toy with the microphones or microphone cords. The children are then left alone while being recorded.

#### ON THEORIES OF VERBAL DEPRIVATION

Theories of verbal deprivation are often used to explain the failure of our schools in the education of lower-class children, and they have found wide acceptance among educators. For example, Bereiter et al., (1966, p. 112) conclude that the language of lower-class Negro and Mexican-American children is not even an "underdeveloped version of standard English, but is a basically non-logical mode of expressive behavior . . . ." Warren Cutts (1963, p. 23), then a reading specialist in the U.S. Office of Education, asserted that the language of lower-class children is limited to "grunts and crudities" and composed of "strange noises that take the place of standard American English."

Because of the societal and educational importance of theories which claim that lower-class Negro and Mexican-American children are "verbally deprived," and that their language is less complex in syntax, lexicon, and logic than that of their middle-class peers, this section reports evidence which is inconsonant with these theories of verbal deprivation. An explanation is also offered for the vast differences between present findings and those of the verbal deprivation theorists. The evidence is drawn from speech samples collected during the methodological survey described in this paper.

As already noted, these samples were collected from 30 lower socioeconomic class children randomly chosen from Watts and neighboring areas. It was possible to show that 17 of these children had not had the doubtful benefits of "remedial language programs." Accordingly, the speech samples described here are from these 17 children, and these samples contradict the findings of Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann, whose publications are widely cited in the literature and whose remedial language programs have been adopted by many Operation Head Start programs and other "compensatory education programs" across the country.

If observation of children's conversations is confined to the material taped during the individual interviews, it would be natural to agree with Bereiter and Engelmann (1968, p. 5) when they assert that lower-class Afro-American (and Mexican-American) children have "not learned the language rules that are necessary for . . . asking questions . . . ." They further assert (1968, p. 19) that "The child often has no idea of how to ask questions or what they can do for him." There are many examples collected during the group interviews which are inconsistent with these assertions. For example, sentences 1 through 7 illustrate a rich variety of questions.

Yes-No

1. Toni, remember when you was standing by that door? (Yvette, 2-3-04, 5).<sup>25</sup>
2. Is that the same thing as that one? (Mona, 1-1-03, 19-20).

WH-

3. Where we going? Well when they go why don't we go? (Elliott, 2-5-01, 2).
4. Oh, what's that other picture called? (Aubrey, 6-1-05, 4).

Embedded

5. I saw this girl on TV and, and that man said what do Santa Clause do when he come to your house? (Yvette, 2-3-04, 3).
6. You remember what the man said? (Jocelyn, 3-1-05, 7-8).

Tag

7. Carlton, like Arlisa, don't you? Don't you? (Yvette, 2-3-04, 1-2).

Bereiter and Engelman also claim (1966, p. 42) that the so-called "culturally deprived" child "does not learn how to use language for obtaining and transmitting information . . . ." This claim was made regarding 3- and 4-year-old preschool children. Among samples taken from our 5- and 6-year-olds, there are many examples in which these children exchange and ask for information about every conceivable subject. The following is an example of a 6-year-old boy "transmitting information" about how to make popcorn:

Interviewer: Now you tell me, how do you make popcorn?

Bryan: You have some seeds, And then you put'em in a pot and put a top over it. And then shake it up, and . . . .

Second child (interrupting): . . . it turn to popcorn.

Bryan: Popcorn. (Bryan, 4-3-02, 3)

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<sup>25</sup>"Yvette, 2-3-04, 5," refers to page 5 of the transcript of Yvette (child number 4) during session 3 with group 2 (see Table 2).

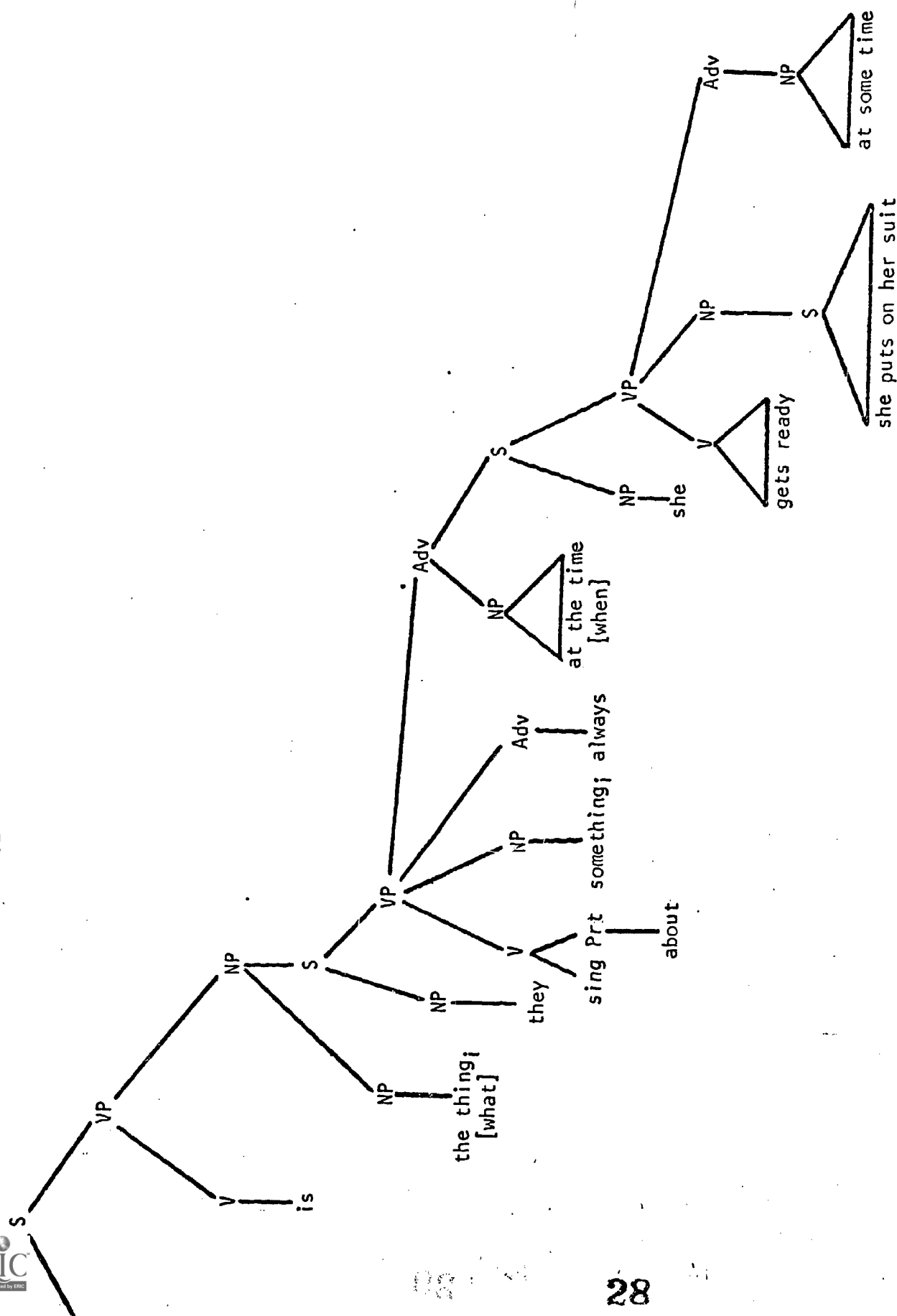
In another example, the interviewer attempts to elicit speech from the same child by asking for directions to get from school to the boy's home. The interviewer asks "Which is the best way to get home" to which the boy promptly replies "Get in the car and drive home."

If these 5- and 6-year-old children were as linguistically deficient at 3 and 4 years as Bereiter and Engelmann claim, it is incredible that they should make such dramatic gains in just one or two years. But if children can make such dramatic gains in a few years without educational intervention, the remedial language training which Bereiter and Engelmann espouse seems unneeded.

Bereiter and Engelmann further claim that the so-called "severely disadvantaged child" is handicapped by a "limited grammar" (1968, p. 7). Likewise, Martin Deutsch claims that "a major focus of deficit in the children's language development is syntactical organization" (1966, p. 89). Since Deutsch, and Bereiter and Engelmann do not define what they mean by "limited grammar" or "syntactical organization" it is difficult to react to these claims. However, one plausible interpretation of their claims is that these children speak in short, simple sentences. This interpretation is supported by noting the claims Bereiter and Engelmann make elsewhere (1966, p. 34) regarding the speech of preschool children. They claim that children of this age speak in "giant word" sentences that "cannot be taken apart by the child and recombined [nor] transformed from statements to questions, from imperatives to declaratives, and so on." Assuming, then, that by "limited grammar" Bereiter and Engelmann probably mean that these children can utter only simple, short sentences, consider the tree diagram in Figure 2. This diagram is the simplified deep structure of the sentence "That's what they always sing about when she get ready to put on her batsuit," collected from 6-year-old Maggie. Notice the extreme complexity of this sentence. There are at least four (and probably more) sentences underlying this sentence. Figure 3 is another example of a rather complex sentence: "You know what Momma gonna cook when it get Christmas time?" This example was collected from a 5-year-old child; other examples are given in sentences 8-13.

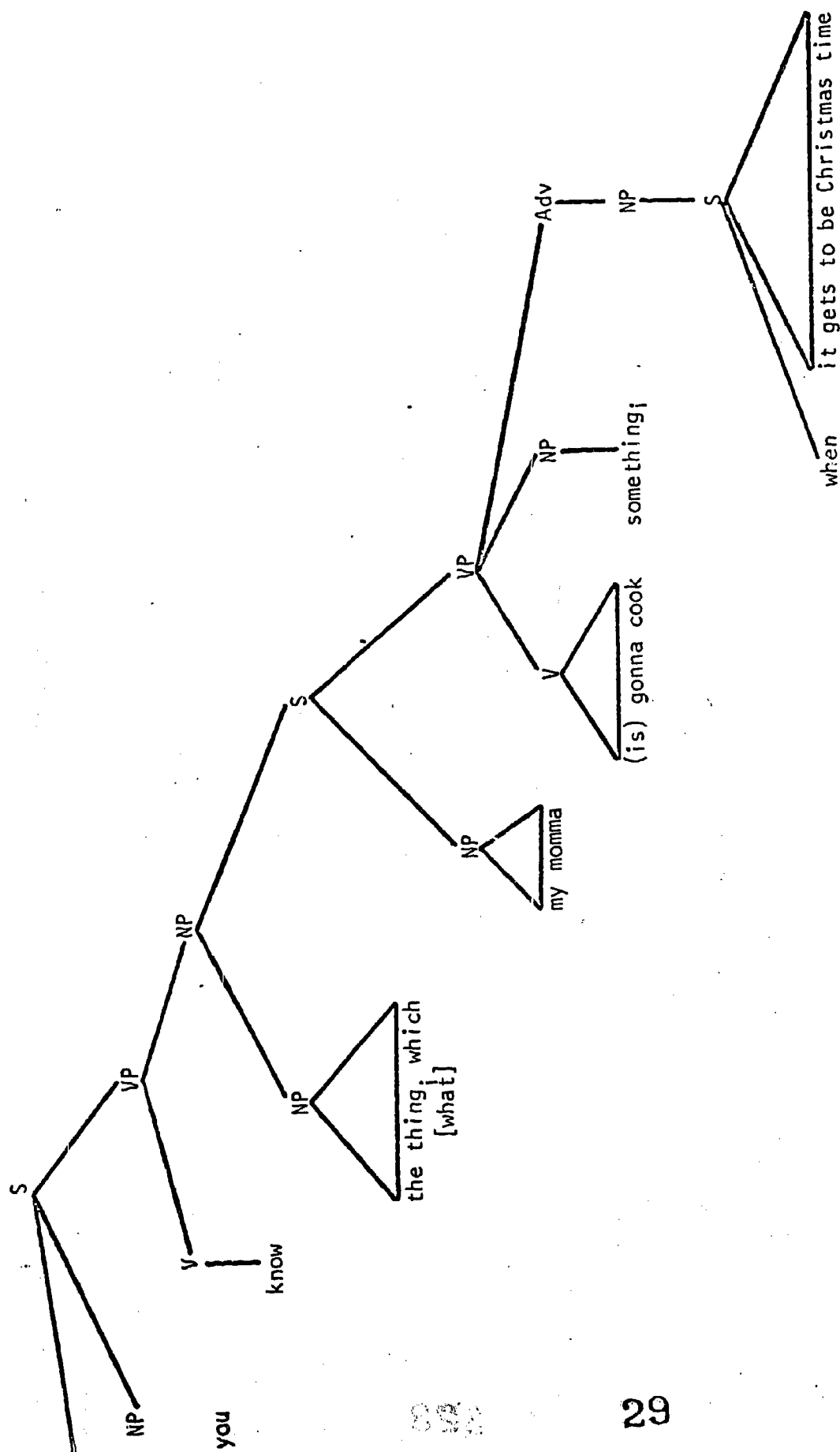
8. I'm going to just kick you right in your eye. (Thomas, 2-3-08, 5-6)
9. Maybe the boy be quiet after the girl be quiet. (Phillip, 4-1-03, 2)
10. Look. Look what's on my arm. (Caroline, 1-4-05, 1)
11. And that was the hardest, the hardest storm I ever heard of. (Brian, 4-3-02, 0)

5) COMPLEX SENTENCE



That's what they always sing about when she get ready to put on her batsuit.

6) COMPLEX SENTENCE



You know what my Momma gonna cook when it get Christmas time?



12. You know when I went to the drive-in last time, and then you know those people they be dead, and then they wake up and kill people . . . . (Diane, 5-1-05, 5)
13. Granny's washing powder is the best one in the world. (Ernie, 6-2-03, 4)

Bereiter and Engelmann make many other astonishing claims about the language of lower-class Negro and Mexican-American children. For example, they assert that many of these children understand only a few prepositions but are unable to use them correctly in their speech; that they are unable to handle negation in sentences; and that "they do not know how to talk in loud, clear voices. They either mumble almost inaudibly or else they yell raucously" (1968, p. 7). The methodological survey produced abundant evidence for refuting these assertions.

One possible explanation for the vast incompatibility between the findings reported here and those of Bereiter and Engelmann is the interviewing technique used. As described earlier in this paper, several different interviewing techniques were explored to determine the optimal method for eliciting casual, spontaneous speech from children. Essentially, three methods were used: individual interviews, paired interviews, and group interviews.

The results with the individual interviews were, as already noted, uniformly poor. Relatively little speech was elicited, and that was produced in a highly self-conscious, stilted manner, and tended to be monosyllabic and generally unresponsive. Even the most vocal children who had been interviewed earlier in group situations were constrained and nervous. The results with the paired interviews were mixed; in some cases the children were very talkative; in others, they were again nervous and ill at ease.

The data from the group sessions, however, are incompatible with the conclusions of Bereiter and Engelmann. In the group sessions the children clearly manifested a command of their dialect and a great enthusiasm for communicating with others. They spontaneously related anecdotes about day-to-day events in their lives, told each other fairy tales, sang, asked riddles, and made side comments about the action going on around them. In short, behavior observed during the group interviews indicates that lower socioeconomic class black children possess a command of language thoroughly adequate to perform the normal human communication functions appropriate to their age.

The simplest explanation for the discrepancies between the observations made by Bereiter and his associates and this survey is that the widely-held notion of a "verbally deprived child" is a myth. Although Bereiter and Engelmann do not describe their interview techniques, it seems likely that they have erred by establishing a highly

contrived interview situation for the lower class child. They have apparently placed these children in an environment which is new to them, and then expected them to respond in the same manner as middle-class children who have been conditioned in that environment. From the experience in eliciting speech from lower-class children, it appears to be of utmost importance that the children are given every opportunity to relax in an amicable environment. When these precautions are not taken, a highly stilted speech resembling that described by Bereiter and Engelmann is obtained.

Furthermore, it is evident that Bereiter and Engelmann are unaware that the dialect of Afro-American children differs from "standard" English in systematic, rule-governed ways. Some examples of these systematic differences are copula deletion (e.g., in sentence 3 above), omission of the third person singular -s verb suffix (as in sentence 5), and the use of the pleonastic pronoun "they" in sentence 12.<sup>26</sup>

Bereiter and Engelmann fail to realize that these features of Negro speech are of no more consequence in cognitive development and communication than are other dialectal differences found in the speech of, say, New Englanders, who typically delete the r-like sound at the end of such words as "butter" and "car."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis, 1968, for a description and analysis of these and other differences between the dialect of Negro children and "standard" English.

<sup>27</sup> For a general criticism of the scientific racism perpetuated by such interpretations see William Labov's article (1969) entitled The Logic of Non-Standard English. See also Garcia, Blackwell, Williams, and Simpkins (1969), and Williams (1969).

APPENDIX I

A CHILD-LANGUAGE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE  
DIALECT SUBPOPULATIONS

GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. SET UP EQUIPMENT

1.1 Arrange table and chairs

1.2 Load tape recorders, connect microphones

1.3 Place spoken identification<sup>28</sup>

1.31 Date

1.32 Location of interview or name of informant

1.33 Tape recorder ID number

1.34 Microphone ID number

1.35 Name(s) of interviewer(s)

1.36 A-440 tone

1.4 Playback label to test apparatus

1.5 Turn off monitor speaker

2. INTRODUCTORY SECTION

2.1 Seat children

(fd)2.2 Introduce field worders to children--first names only, e.g.:  
"My name's Angie and this is Stan."

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<sup>28</sup>For explanation of the instructions under this heading see Appendix II.

2.3 Begin explaining equipment to children

2.31 Turn on central recorder

2.32 Place microphones on children

2.33 Get each child to say his name and age

2.34 Get each child to name his brothers & sisters

2.35 Turn on individual recorders and adjust volume  
(if possible)

2.36 Play back material on the central recorder

2.361 Rewind

2.3611 Repeat children's names

2.3612 "Stan just recorded your voices. Now  
we'll listen to them."

2.362 2.3621 Playback

2.3622 Does that sound like you? (to each child  
as his voice comes up)

2.3623 Does that sound like him?

2.3624 Why do you think it's like that?

3. FAMILY

3.1 Tell us about your family--who lives at home with you?

3.2 What are your brothers and sisters like?

3.3 Who do you fight with at home?

3.31 Do you ever fight with (get mad at) your brothers and  
sisters?

3.32 Do you (singular or plural) ever get into trouble for  
fighting? (If this line of questioning is productive,  
begin immediately the section on fighting.)

3.4 What do you do at Christmas time?

3.41 At home

3.42 At school

3.421 Play or pageant

3.422 Sing special songs

3.4221 Would you sing that for us?

3.423 Party

4. FRIENDS

4.1 Tell us about your friends

4.11 What do you play (together)?

4.111 How do you do that?

4.12 What else do you do together?

4.121 How do you do that?

4.122 What do you do that?

4.123 Where?

## APPENDIX II

### LABELING OF CHILD LANGUAGE SURVEY TAPES

The intent of the following procedures is to make the tape recorded data as accessible as possible in the smallest amount of time possible. Samples of each label referred to are spaced appropriately throughout the text.

#### TAPE LABELING

Four labels for each audio tape recorded:

1. Voice label on tape
2. Notation on tape leader
3. Gummed paper label on reel
4. Gummed paper label on spine of carton

Tapes recorded at speeds other than 3-3/4 ips or on recorders with other than 1/2-track monaural recording should also have two other labels:

5. Additional gummed paper label on reel
6. Additional gummed paper label on spine of carton

#### 1. Voice label on tape

Before beginning an interview the following is recorded on each tape:

- a) Location of interview
- b) Type of interview (group, paired, individual)
- c) Date
- d) Group number
- e) Session number

- f) Tape recorder ID number
- g) Microphone ID number
- h) Name of informant (if known) or microphone location (if appropriate)
- i) Name(s) of interviewer(s)
- j) A-440 tone<sup>29</sup>

In general, the informant's name will not be known at the time that the label is recorded on a tape. When this is the case, the interviewer should attempt to have the informant say his name somewhere near the beginning of the recording session.

Sample:

"Saint R\_\_\_\_\_ School. Group interview. December 13, 1968. Group number 1. Session number 2. Tape recorder SWRL 3026. Microphone number 6. Center microphone. Interviewer Stanley Legum (A-440 Tone)."

## 2. Notation on leader

The following information should be written on the leader at the beginning of each tape:

- a) Date of interview
- b) Code: Group number, session number, and individual number.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> The A-440 tone is recorded in case of fluctuation of tape recorder speed due to weak batteries. If tapes are recorded at other than standard speeds, the tone provides a "bench mark" for comparison when the tapes are played back on a variable speed tape recorder.

<sup>30</sup> The individual number is the ID number of the microphone used by the informant during the first session. Once an individual number is assigned, it uniquely identifies the same individual during all the sessions with his group, regardless of the microphones he uses in later sessions. If an individual is not present during the first session, assign a number to him which is one higher than the last number already assigned (reserve "6" for the center microphone).



c) Informant's name

Sample:

1/1/69 1-2-4 John Doe

3. Gummed paper label on reel

The following information appears on the gummed paper label on the tape reel:

- a) Location of interview
- b) Date of interview
- c) Tape recorder ID number
- d) Code: Group number, session number, and individual number
- e) Informant's name or the designation of the microphone's location (e.g., CENTER)

This information should be arranged in the following manner on these labels:

- |           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| 1. school | 2. date |
| 3. ID #   | 4. code |
|           | 5. name |

Samples:

St. R	12/13/68
SWRL	1-2-6
3026	CENTER

St. L	1/10/69
SWRL	2-1-3
3023	Bruce

If the school name is too long to accommodate the date on the first line, then the label should be done in the following manner:

- |           |         |         |  |  |
|-----------|---------|---------|--|--|
| 1. school |         |         |  |  |
| 2. ID #   | 3. date |         |  |  |
|           | 4. code | 5. name |  |  |

Sample:

St. C	
SWRL	2/4/69
3025	4-1-5 Chris

### APPENDIX III

#### SPRING CAN BE FUN

One day last March I bought a new red kite. I asked Mary Cooper to come and fly it with me. "Let's fly it by the lime quarry," I said. "It's a mighty fine kite of fire-engine red and will fly higher than the ~~eye~~-can spy."

"I think a thing like that could be bad," Mary said. "There are witches in that old quarry. Why don't we go somewhere or do something which would be safer?"

"Don't be silly. There is no such thing as a witch. Besides, when the wind is high a kite will fly ten times higher out there. And it won't get caught on somebody's tin roof, either. Now, stop dragging your heels and let's get moving."

Mary wasn't very merry at that thought. She said it could rain out there and that witches made people believe that their places are just the same as anywhere else. A team of wild horses couldn't get her to move from the ranch. I talked myself hoarse trying to get her to leave. I stalked up and down trying to wrench her away from her chair. But she claimed she had to feed the stock. She said that there was no reason to roam around like I owned the place and to get hot under the collar.

Finally Mary smiled and said, "Witches can't ride in cars. If you promise not to go too near the edge of the quarry, I can sit on top of the car and eat on an apple core. Let's go."

Sometimes I just don't understand women at all.

Read the following pairs aloud and say whether they sound the same or different to you.

pin:pen  
cot:caught  
horse:hoarse  
farm:form  
core:car  
Mary:merry  
creek:crick  
merry:marry  
ranch:wrench  
Mary:marry  
route:root

#### APPENDIX IV

##### SELECTION OF SCHOOLS FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT PROGRAMS

As of October 4, 1965, the Los Angeles Unified School District had proposed the following criteria for determining a school's eligibility for compensatory education funds under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. As far as can be determined, these were the criteria in effect at the time of the work reported here. Further information regarding these criteria has not been made available by the Los Angeles Unified School District.

Any school in which four or more of these criteria are found will become eligible for a program. The individual criteria which make [a specific] up a school's eligibility will not be publicized. The criteria include:

1. Any school service area where 25% or more of the population earn less than \$4,000 a year family income.
2. Schools where 25% or more of the pupils fall below the 30th percentile in reading comprehension.
3. Where the percentage of foreign born in a school service area falls in the 4th quartile.
4. Where the percentage of separated, divorced, widowed, i.e., broken families, in a school service area falls within the 4th quartile.
5. Where the percentage of deteriorated or dilapidated dwellings in a school service area falls within the 4th quartile.
6. Where the density per room in a school service area falls in the 4th quartile.
7. Where there is more than 10% of the male civilian labor force unemployed.
8. Where the percentage of adults over 25 years of age who have completed less than 8 years of school is higher than the School District average.

Based on these eight criteria, there are 176 elementary schools which currently qualify for Elementary and Secondary Education Act programs. There are 51 secondary schools whose enrollment is made up of pupils from the identified elementary schools.

Selection of private and parochial school pupils for whom services will be provided is based on the pupils [sic] residence being within identified areas.

Admission to specific programs will be based on individual need as established by school counselors.

All schools currently listed for eligibility in programs under the Economic Opportunity Act are also listed for eligibility under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

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